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THE

WOLF DETECTED

OR

POLITICAL ABOLITION EXPOSED,

BY

James E. Quaw, A. M., V. D. M.

AUTHOR OF BIBLE BAPTISM.

From such turn away.—2 Tim. 3: 5.

Truth is simple and uniform, while error may be infinitely varied.

I would not draw the sword in a cause which I would not lay down my life to gain.

DETROIT:
BENJAMIN WOOD, PUBLISHER.
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A considerable portion of what is contained in the following little work, was delivered in a Lecture in Wisconsin, Sept. 20, 1844. A copy of this Lecture was requested and furnished for publication. In this work, several additions are made to what was presented in the Lecture. These, it is hoped, will do something towards drawing aside the veil which hypocrisy has thrown around the Political Abolition Wolf.

2.9.20/4/4

THE WOLF DETECTED.

Every moral and religious duty is definitely taught in some portion of the Scriptures of truth. In this Holy book, men are described in all the variety of character in which they appear to the Omniscient eye. What course ought to be pursued in relation to some persons, is clearly taught in this short direction; "*From such turn away.*" By this command, persons are taught to disapprove, discourage and discountenance all such characters as are included in this expression. From those who are described in any part of the language used in connection with this Divine command, all are directed to "*turn away.*" By taking this course, each individual can practically express his abhorrence of their wickedness. The expression, "*from such turn away,*" includes certain *characters* and teaches *man's duty* in relation to them. By attending to the several particulars by which, in the language preceding this Divine injunction, moral and religious characters are described; it will not be difficult for reflecting persons to determine the class of men from whom all are bound, by this command, to "turn away." Let us attend to this injunction. Let us obey this precept. But in order to do this understandingly, let us endeavor to ascertain

1. "*From*" *what class of persons we are here directed to* "*turn away.*" Divine wisdom, in this same connection, teaches who these are. They are expressly said to be "boasters," — "truce-breakers," — "false accusers,"— "traitors,"—persons who have only the "form of godliness,"—and "despisers of those that are good."* By this language, not a few individuals, in every age of the world, are described. To one class of persons among us, (if to no more,) this discription will apply with all the force of calm, literal reality. To associate with them cannot be beneficial. To do so will certainly be perni-

*2 Tim. 3: 2–5.

cious. "*From*" them therefore and "*from*" all "*such*," we are commanded to "*turn away.*" If it should be asked; to whom among us does the title of "*boasters*" specially belong? to whom? why, to those who are in words, constantly making a bombastic display of their love of liberty, of their opposition to slavery, of their peculiar regard for the colored man ; while by their conduct they prove to a demonstration that this their language is but mere sound. Should any inquire; who are pre-eminently the "*truce-breakers*" of our day? The answer, if a correct one is given, must be; those who frequently express a wish to sunder the bond which, in the Federal Constitution, bind together the several parts of our confederated Union. This is the most important political truce ever entered into by man. Those who would violate it must therefore be superlative "truce-breakers." Those who are habitually charging slave-holders and others with crimes of which they are not guilty and which they perfectly abhor, will yield to none in their claims, to the title of "*false-accusers.*" Who can be more superlative "*traitors*" to this country and to the cause of true civil and religious liberty, than those who express a desire to sever the cord of affection which binds every true American's heart to the Union of all the States in one great representative Republic? This confederation was formed at the cannon's mouth. It was cemented with the Patriot's blood. To prepare for it a thousand hearts were cheerfully bared to receive the British dagger. They died that those who survived might form this Union. The tyrant appeared on their soil. Under his cloak he concealed the chains of slavery. In his hand he bore the weapon of death. They struck the fetters of bondage from his grasp. But this cost them their life. They received the point of his steel in their heart. The survivors formed one united government. Who but a "traitor" of the vilest kind *can* wish it dissolved? What class of persons can more properly be called "*dispisers* of those that are good," than such as contemptuously affirm that those who do not and will not fall in with their schemes of wickedness, are the friends of slavery or the apologists of slave-holders? Who can more properly be said to

have a "form of godliness" while they deny its "power," than such as endeavor to carry on a vile system of wickedness under a religious cloak of their own formation? But who are or can be guilty of all this? To whom will this description apply? It is not overdrawn. In the Scriptures of truth, perfect wisdom has, in plain, unvarnished language, thus described a certain class of persons. Their character, their principles and their practices are delineated by him who cannot err. Those who are accurately acquainted with the passing events of the day, can easily perceive that political abolitionists, among others, constitute the characters here described. "*From such*" therefore we are directed to "*turn away.*"

2. *The name Abolitionist may here receive a passing notice.* The word Abolition signifies the act of abolishing or destroying. It may be applied to any thing that exists. An Abolitionist, therefore, is one who abolishes or destroys, or who is endeavoring to abolish or destroy any thing, either good or bad. A person who is engaged in abolishing liberty or slavery, morality or immorality, christianity or anti-christianity, the Bible or the Koran, civil law or anarchy, or indeed any thing that exists, righteous or wicked, holy or unholy, may with propriety be called an Abolitionist. This is a designation which can mean any thing that may best suit the designs of him who applies it to himself. The Abolitionist has a descriptive name which will answer his turn, in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances. Among the opposers of slavery, he may, by his title, profess to desire the abolition of this evil. Among its advocates, he may, by the same title, express a wish to abolish opposition to slavery. Among Mahometans, he might advocate the abolition of christianity ; and among christians, the abolition of Mahometanism, or Paganism. Those who adopt such a name must do so for some purpose. The honest man adopts a name by which he may be known. The honest party assumes a distinguishing title by which their peculiarities may easily be discoverd. But, for a class of men to call themselves Abolitionists, is to assume a name which can, with equal ease, be applied to those who are engaged in the destruction of liberty or

slavery, sin or holiness, wisdom or folly. An honest man or an honest party would not be *very anxious* to adopt such an appellation. Indeed, for a person to give himself such a name, is to stamp the mark of hypocrisy in glowing capitals on his own forehead. The party who wear it, proclaim their own duplicity.

This class of persons, at their first organization, entitled themselves Anti-slavery men. They however soon discovered that few persons of ordinary reflection could be induced to believe that a considerable part of their system had any thing to do with opposition to slavery. When they made this discovery, they adopted the name of Abolitionists. As soon as the wolf became thoroughly detected under that name, they called themselves Liberty men. It is manifest therefore that they changed their peculiar designation to suit circumstances. "*From such*" characters as voluntarily call themselves Abolitionists and change their name as the winds of popular favor may happen to blow; it is every honest man's duty to "*turn away.*"

3. *The history of political Abolition deserves a little attention.* Abolitionists form a heterogeneous party. This originated a few years ago in New York and Massachusetts. At first, they denominated themselves Anti-slavery men. Under this name, they formed societies in different parts of the non-slaveholding States. Soon after their organization, and while wearing this their first name, they commenced a furious attack upon almost every thing which men deem sacred. Infidelity has never, in any guise, made more bitter and unprincipled onsets against the word of God, than have these characters while they styled themselves Anti-slavery men. They, for years, employed all their influence and art and intrigue to make persons believe that those portions of scripture which pointedly condemn their notions, were not correctly translated. But this old, stale, worn out scheme of cloaked infidelity, did not well serve their turn. People, in general, could not be made to believe that they were suitable judges in the case. Scarcely one of them knew a single letter of the Hebrew or Greek alphabet. Few persons could believe that such characters were

thoroughly qualified to correct a translation of the scriptures made by some of the most wise, most pious, most learned among uninspired men. When this hackneyed scheme of buskined ignorance did not work to their mind; they then fairly laid off their infidel cloak. They even called a portion of God's own holy word* "bald nonsense."† Infidelity cannot exceed this expression in unprincipled bitterness. Of perfect wisdom nothing worse can be said than to call it "bald nonsense!" But after using this expression which might have made Thomas Paine blush, and even while they were using it, many of them had the unparalleled impudence to call themselves christians. With this worst kind of open infidelity, inscribed on their foreheads; they ventured, before the sun, to profess the sacred, the blessed name of Christ. Moreover, with all the virulence of demons incarnate, not a few of them opposed the christian Sabbath, the christian ministry, the christian ordinances, the subjection of citizens to the laws of their country, of children to their parents, of pupils to their teachers, &c. They impudently asserted that the authority which sustained these and similar wholesome regulations, was slavery in some of its parts or kinds. Thus under the name of Anti-slavery men, they made a most desperate attack upon almost every thing which human beings are accustomed to revere. But the more observing portion of their leaders soon discovered that the good common sense of Americans would not sustain such a mixture of nonsense and wickedness. Men could not be induced to believe that subjection to proper civil, parental and ecclesiastical authority, was slavery. They could not discover that opposition to these, at the North, had any tendency to free the slave at the South. As soon as several of their leaders discovered that the intrigue of this part of their plan was, or in a short time certainly would be, detected; they modified their scheme and changed their name. They then denominated themselves Abolitionists. When they gave themselves this designation; they had a name under the cover of which any vile character on earth may carry on his trade of wickedness. Its ample canopy can

*1 Tim. 6: 2. †See Anti-Slavery Record.

shelter all who wish to abolish any thing whatever. It may however at the same time, teach an important truth. It declares in no very obscure language, to every one who will hear, that the leaders who, for the party, choose such a name, are any thing but honest men. "*From such*" persons, "*from such*" a party, every upright man ought therefore to "*turn away.*"

4. *Abolitionists are unprincipled politicians.* Till some time in the year 1839 or 1840, these characters denied most strenuously that they had any design of forming a political party. They often and positively asserted that their object was moral and religious, not political. They frequently declared, in the most pointed terms, that they had no intention of forming a political party. They then fiercely charged with the sin of slander, such as had sufficient penetration to discover, and sufficient firmness to assert, that they had laid a plan, which when carried out, would end in the formation of such a party. Before the year thirty-nine or forty, they employed all their proselytizing art and influence to induce the moral and religious portions of the other parties to join them. For years, their leaders continued to pursue this course. All this time, they habitually asserted that they had no design of forming a political party. But when the scheme of the political Abolition leaders was thoroughly matured ; they then laid aside this part of their hypocritical veil. They then openly appeared as a political party. That they carefully concealed, for a time, the political part of their plan, is certain. To do this, they were often guilty of uttering the most unblushing falsehoods. In doing this, they had an object in view. What this was, can be discovered. In this way they hoped to deceive the moral and religious portions of both the great political parties in our country. Men, in general, have some regard for consistency. Political Abolition leaders are aware of this. They knew that persons, after being entangled in their net, might, for the sake of consistency, remain with them. Among their followers, they might calculate on a considerable number of this description of character. These would not have joined them as a political party. But being already united with them, they would not de-

sert them after they laid off their cloak of deception and became politicians. If such persons, after their leaders appeared as politicians, manifested any disposition to forsake their political standard; they might still hope, by additional duplicity, to induce them to remain in their leading-strings. Of one thing, in relation to this matter, they were certain. If men already formed a portion of their fraternity; they knew that it would be much more easy to retain them, than it would be to induce them to unite with them as a political party. This, from their actions, was manifestly the scheme of many political Abolition leaders. But whether this or some worse motive actuated them; it is certain that they continued to deny that they had any design of forming a political party, till their scheme was digested, and their plan quite well matured. Then, before the Presidential election in 1840, or perhaps in the year 1839, they came out before the world as a political party. They then pretended that slavery must be abolished at the ballot-box. But when, in the different States, the time arrived for the choice of Presidential electors; lo! large numbers of the most noisy political Abolitionists sustained a slave-holder for the office of Vice President in the United States!! As soon, however, as this election in 1840, was over; political Abolitionists again began to sound their noisy trumpet. But strange to tell! at the Presidential election in 1844, not a few of the most noisy political Abolitionists sustained a slave-holder for President. Thus, by their actions, not a few of the leading "boasters" among political Abolitionists, show that they are not even honest in politics. Bad as the intriguing partizans in other parties usually are; they are generally honest in their politics. They will usually adhere to their party right or wrong. But many political Abolitionists are not even honest in politics. They are so grossly inconsistent and regardless of common veracity, as to sustain slave-holders for civil office. Indeed, some of their leaders will sell their votes to the party which will pay them best. It is manifest therefore, that not a few of the leaders and others in this noisy party, are unprincipled politicians. No wonder then, that the inspired word should say to us of these Abo-

litionists and of all like them; "*From such turn away.*"

5. *The professed, is not the real object of political Abolitionists.* It is no new thing for men to give a system of wickedness a wrong name. To "call evil good and good evil," to "put darkness for light and light for darkness,"* is an old, well-proved and very successful scheme of his Satanic majesty. But when deceivers call things by wrong names, there is always a plan by which they may be detected. "Ye shall know them by their fruits,"† not by their profession, is the language of Divine wisdom. By this test, it can easily be ascertained that the professed, is not the real object of political Abolitionists. *They profess to be opposed to slavery.* This their profession is often long and loud. But that all this is mere noise, is undeniably certain from their actions. That many of the leaders in the ranks of political Abolition, are entirely hypocritical in this their profession, is proved from a variety of circumstances. (1.) It is worthy of remark, that, however loud and boisterous they are in those portions of our country where slavery does not exist; in those places where it does, they are generally if not universally silent. This one fact shows most conclusively that their anti-slavery professions are hypocritical. (2.) Political Abolitionists operate only in the free or non-slaveholding States. To form a political party to free slaves in those States where slavery does not now exist and probably never will, is a movement which very closely borders on the ridiculous. It is very much like fishing for oysters in a snow-bank. (3.) Their plan when carried out, cannot free one slave. They professedly operate only in the non-slaveholding States. If their plan should be carried to the utmost conceivable extent; they could only induce every man, woman and child in the free states, to become noisy political Abolitionists. To do this could not free a slave in those States where there are no slaves to set at liberty. If, however, all persons in the non-slaveholding States, should become political Abolitionists; their leaders would then fill all the offices in those state governments. But the Legislature of one State cannot make laws for another. Nor can it repeal any law which an-

*Isa. 5: 20. †Mat. 7: 16.

other has made. If therefore every governor, every legislator and every other civil officer in each of the non-slave-holding States, was a political Abolitionist of the most noisy kind, they could not singly or all united, free one slave in any State of the Union. But it may be said, that if all persons in the free States should become political Abolitionists, they would then send men to Congress who were professedly opposed to slavery. That is just what they certainly would do. It is just what they now do. It is precisely what they have done for many years. Indeed, every free State in which slavery once existed, first became opposed to the system. It then put an end to the evil within its own jurisdiction. Always afterwards, as a body politic, it has stood before the world free from the demoralising influence of slavery. Those States which have never doomed a human being to hereditary bondage, have always borne witness to the Universe that they are opposed to this evil. The free citizens of each of these States, elect Congressmen who belong to a body politic which permits no citizen to hold a slave within its geographical limits. In those States where slavery has been discontinued or where it has not been permitted to exist; it is not known that any petition has ever been presented to any one of their legislative bodies, the design of which was to secure the revival or establishment of slavery. Besides, it is not known that any legislator, in any one free State, has once attempted to revive or establish slavery within its jurisdiction. This important fact shows that the free citizens of the free States do not desire to become slave-holders. They might, if they chose, become such. But they do not. It is therefore manifest that the free States are opposed to slavery. They have rejected this evil. They have no disposition to receive it within their bounds. From the preceding facts, it is also manifest that representatives in Congress from the free States are not in favor of slavery. Indeed, they must, in profession at least, be opposed to it. If, however, all the members of Congress from the free States, were the most noisy among political Abolitionists, they, (were they even so disposed,) could not free a single slave. Nor could they do so if both the President and Vice President were

of their party. The constitution of the United States would not then permit them so to act on the subject of slavery as to free one slave. Even then they could not so alter this constitution as to give Congress power over the subject of slavery. So great a majority of the States as is necessary to alter this instrument would still be wanting. If then every member of Congress from all the free States, was a political Abolitionist and (which is not a supposable case,) was an honest politician ; not one slave could be freed by any law which they could make. Besides, the power over slavery is of too great importance to be given to Congress. If it was in the hand of that body of men, they might compel citizens of the free States to hold slaves. The true patriot will not readily consent to intrust a power of such magnitude as is that over slavery, with any class of men so far removed, both as to location and power, from the scrutiny of their constituents, as members of Congress, in general, must be. Moreover, if all the non-slaveholding representatives in Congress were political Abolitionists ; they could not then even free a slave in the District of Columbia. In this District of ten miles square, Congress has power over the subject of slavery. But this body cannot so exercise its power, as to free a slave. If a majority of Congress were even honest political Abolitionists, they could not pass a law which would free one slave in the District of Columbia. Every slave could and would be removed from the District before it would be possible to pass any such law through both houses of Congress. Besides, it may be observed that Congress cannot free a slave in any one of the Territories belonging to the United States. The Territories make and repeal their own laws. Congress can veto or nullify a Territorial law before a certain specified day after it is passed. If Congress says nothing, the law takes effect. This is the case with all Territorial laws, except such as relate to monied institutions. To make such banking laws valid in a Territory, Congress must pass an act approving them. But Congress cannot make any law for a Territory ; nor can that body repeal or nullify a Territorial law which has gone into effect after the day has passed, before which it might have been

vetoed. But wherever slavery exists in a Territory, a law on that subject has actually taken effect. Slavery is a thing of law. Where it is not established by law ; there it does not, cannot exist. Since then Congress cannot repeal or nullify any law which is in actual operation in any Territory ; that body cannot render inoperative those laws which, in a portion of the Territories, have established slavery. It may also be remarked here, that Congress cannot constitutionally refuse to admit a new State into the Union, because it does, or may sanction slavery. The Constitution of the United States points out what the terms are, upon which new States may be admitted into the confederation. To be non-slaveholding is no part of the conditions of their admission. Besides, any State may, entirely independent of any law which Congress has or can pass, so modify its constitution and laws as to become a slave-holding sovereignty. Congress cannot prevent any State, new or old, from holding slaves. Nor can that body, in the exercise of its legitimate power, say that a State shall not liberate its slaves. To free those in bondage, requires the action of slave-holding States. No other earthly power can properly reach the case of the American slave. Moreover, it is by no means certain that Congress has power to prevent the transfer of persons or property from one State to another. Congress can constitutionally regulate trade and commerce between the different States of the Union. It may well be doubted however, whether the power to regulate commerce, certainly includes the right to lay a duty. But it is manifest that this expression in the constitution cannot mean to include the power of preventing persons and property from passing from one State to another. But if it did ; and if Congress should pass an act forbidding citizens of different parts of the Union to traffic in slaves, such a law could not free a slave. The bondman would then remain a slave in his native State. To suppose that colored persons cannot be raised where white men can live, is preposterous. If men will keep slaves at the Southern extremity of the Union, they can easily raise them there. If they cannot obtain them farther North, they certainly *can* raise them if they choose. To prevent the citizens of different States from

trafficing in slaves, could not free a slave. To do so could not even diminish the number of those who are held in bondage.

It is evident therefore to those who will examine this subject, that men *in* or *from* the free States, cannot repeal those laws which, in parts of the Union, countenance or have established slavery. It is also manifest to them that Congress cannot free a single slave. The plan then of political Abolitionists, when carried to any supposable extent, cannot free one slave. Those who adopt such a scheme, must certainly know, that by it, slaves cannot possibly be delivered from bondage. (4.) These political Abolitionists often proclaim their own hypocrisy. When they are asked; why, if they really wish to free the slaves, they do not go where slavery exists; they usually reply that they are afraid. This their answer proves that their professions on this subject are hypocritical. They profess to believe that it is their duty to oppose slavery. With this profession on their lips, they declare that they are afraid to go where the evil exists. Afraid!! Afraid of what? Afraid of going where slavery exists! and yet pretend that it is their duty to oppose slavery by forming a political party!! Afraid to do what they profess to believe is their duty!! And yet they continue to spend their time in *talk* on this subject, where they apprehend no danger. When the frighted fancies of these timid souls, can discover no *mormonic* bugbear to excite their fears, then they utter a torrent of words. Then their tempestuous voice is heard in every corner. Then they stamp and rage and foam and boast like a bar-room warrior. They make all this noise where nothing is or can be done to remove the evil which they profess to believe it is their duty to oppose. But where this evil exists, they are, on this subject, silent as a mouse in the wall. It is certain that when such men profess to be opposed to slavery, they proclaim their own hypocrisy. They exhibit much more than the wolf's ears. It ought to be observed also that every professed minister of the gospel among such characters, is doubly guilty. Besides the guilt which rests upon him in common with other leaders of the band, he is habitually violating his ordination

vow. By this he is most solemnly bound to "teach all things" which Christ has commanded in his word.* When he spends his time in lecturing on any one subject, or against any one sin, however flagrant may be its odiousness; he is habitually turning aside from the performance of those duties in the discharge of which he has solemnly vowed to spend his life. Such a man has a fearful account to settle with the King of Zion. But all lecturers on political Abolition, who, from fear, refuse to go where slavery exists, practically, as well as by their declarations, acknowledge that their anti-slavery pretensions are all hypocritical. Men of principle go where real or supposed duty may call. They are seldom afraid where there is no danger. But they do not avoid the path of duty because it is or may be that of danger. (5.) Political Abolitionists refuse to give any thing to redeem the slave. Not one of them is known to have given a single dollar to deliver any slave from bondage. Those who will not give a dollar to redeem a slave from servitude, must be the vilest of hypocrites when they profess to desire his freedom. A man might have a brother in Algerine bondage. The lash of Turkish cruelty might lacerate his flesh. His brother might have his pockets filled with gold. He might then refuse or neglect to give one dollar to redeem him from bondage. But all could see through the thin veil of his deception, should he talk long and loud of his wish to deliver him from the cruel slavery of his Algerine task-master. The political Abolitionist who refuses to use a dollar to redeem a slave from bondage, is no less hypocritical. (6.) Political Abolition leaders sometimes endeavor to persuade men to refrain from exposing their duplicity and intrigue. Fraud always shuns the light. Those who endeavor to conceal the hand while they strike the blow, are always dishonest. By such a course of conduct, leading Abolitionists prove, most conclusively, that their anti-slavery pretensions are all hypocritical. These several particulars clearly exhibit their hypocrisy, so far at least as they pretend to be opposed to slavery. *They often profess to believe that colored persons ought to sustain a political and*

*Mat. 28: 19, 20.

social equality with the whites. Their conduct proves this their profession to be hypocritical. A few facts will sustain this position. (1.) The leading political Abolition leaders seldom or never marry colored females.—They do not often select colored partners for their children. This fact proves that, whatever they *may say* to the contrary, they do not really hold to the social equality of colored and white persons. If they did, they would marry colored persons as readily as they would whites. (2.) Few of the political Abolition leaders, especially in cities, will allow the free white females who do their kitchen-work to enjoy common domestic equality with them. They will not sit at the same table with their hired help. Sometimes they will not even allow them to kneel at their family altar before Him in whose presence kings of the earth are but worms. How absurd for such persons to pretend to be in favor of social equality ! !—(3.) These same Abolition leaders, seldom invite either colored persons or their own hired help, to their social parties. Thus they prove by their actions that they do not believe what they say when they assert that colored persons ought to sustain a social equality with the whites. (4.) They do not generally, on public occasions, sit or walk, or associate with colored persons as they do with whites. (5.) Those among them whose sense of smell is tolerably acute, would find it no very pleasant task to associate very intimately, in warm weather, with a large, fleshy, colored person. By such an attempt, they might easily learn that it is not altogether prejudice which prevents respectable whites from receiving the colored race into a social equality with themselves. (6.) Most Abolitionists do not wish colored persons to enjoy even a political equality with the whites. They prove this by their conduct. They unite with the British in their Abolition movements. It is a well known fact that the English nation does not even pretend that all *white* men should enjoy political equality. This nation also rejects the idea of social equality among free white persons. Those therefore who unite with British subjects in their Abolition movements, may wish to destroy political or social equality among the whites. But it is certain that they are very

far from desiring to raise all these to an equality in the political and social relations of life. For those who now degrade, and always, so far as they could, have degraded to a very low degree of political inferiority, the poor white man, to pretend to be anxious to raise the colored man to a political equality with themselves, might almost make the ebony blush. By carefully observing the movements of political Abolitionists, it becomes undeniably certain, that the professed, is not the real object of many of them. These few remarks will enable us to detect the Abolition wolf. "*From such*" characters, all upright men, all honest opposers of slavery, ought to "*turn away.*"

The real principles of political Abolitionists can be discovered by their actions. *Men's true principles govern their conduct.* By "their fruits," therefore, they can be known. The actions of men declare what they are. By observing with care the course of conduct which they pursue; their ultimate aim may be ascertained. When persons act, they have an object in view. This, the honest do not attempt to conceal. They do not endeavor to hide the end at which they aim, nor the means by which they would accomplish their purpose. To attempt to do either of these, is a sure mark of dishonesty. That the profes sed, is not the real object, of political Abolitionists, is certainly known from their actions. From the same evidence, their real object may be learned. That at which they aim is manifold. (1.) Some of their leaders prove by their actions that they desire to make political Abolition a hobby on which to ride into office. (2.) Most of the leaders, and many others among Abolitionists, wish to divide the Union. To accomplish this object, they are endeavoring to excite the free, against the slave-holding States. The people in the free States are opposed to slavery. Abolitionists know this fact. They use it to excite the people and especially females, in the North, against those of the South. To accomplish this, their main design, they caricature the treatment of the slave, and misrepresent the character of the slave-holder. By adopting this course, they hope to enrage the South. They desire also, to excite the prejudice and other base passions of the North. They endeavor to call these into exercise against the

slave-holder, not against slavery. In this way they are laboring to produce a real or virtual dissolution of the Union. In this attempt, they are evidently aiming to promote the designs of Eastern Despots. No true American, none but the worst kind of instruments used by tyrants, can desire a separation of the Union into two or more distinct confederacies. No patriot can attempt its virtual dissolution. If the Union should be actually dissolved, then Eastern kings might endeavor to subdue one portion of it at a time. Thus the whole might soon be conquered. Should a virtual dissolution of the Union take place; then, if the South should be invaded by a foreign foe; the North, in all its firmness and power, would not assist to expel the enemy from slave-holding soil: and if the North was invaded, then the South, in all its keen-eyed, chivalrous honor, would not be the first to meet the foe on a Northern shore, and the last to retreat. Should our Union be virtually dissolved; then that nation which, in the pride of its power, with its legions of armed assassins and its thousand ships of war, has twice attempted to enslave the free sons of America, might hope to reduce them again to the situation of colonies. If that favorite scheme of despotic power could be accomplished, then its haughty tyranny, bedecked with liberty's plume, might trample upon them with all its giant influence. No true American does now or ever will desire a dissolution of the Union. A friend of liberty might wish the Constitution amended or altered. But the heart-strings of every one in whose veins the blood of a patriot flows, twine around the confederation of all the States in one glorious political Union. Any man who, for any cause, would dissolve the Union, is a traitor to this country, is an enemy to civil liberty, is an Arnold* among the sons of those whose breast was their country's bulwark in the day that "tried men's souls." At a political party which dares to whisper that the dissolution of the Union may be the result of its success, the finger of scorn ought to be pointed by every man who loves his country next to his God. That political Abolitionists aim at dissolving the Union, their own

*Benedict Arnold was the traitor who, during the Revolutionary war, sold West Point.

actions, as well as words, abundantly prove. But to dissolve the Union cannot free a slave. This could have no such tendency. (3.) These characters wish to promote infidelity in some one or more of its thousand varied forms. This is proved by the assertions of many of their leaders and by their publications. At the commencement of their Abolition career, infidelity, in all its brazen impudence, frequently stood forth in the forefront of their publications. It then spiced their almost every lecture. Afterwards, it is true, they became more cautious in this as well as in several other parts of their scheme. It is manifest from these few remarks that the principles which govern the conduct of political Abolitionists, are exceedingly pernicious. Their course of conduct is evil, "only evil, and that continually." "*From such*" double-dealers, all truly upright men ought to "*turn away.*"

6. *The main-spring of political Abolition is foreign gold.* Much of this is furnished by Great Britain. A portion of it may be furnished by Rome, or by other European powers. The gold of Eastern despots moves the machinery of political Abolition in this country. By carefully tracing the visible effects in the actions of leading Abolitionists to the unseen cause, it will become very manifest that foreign gold is the main-spring of this their political movement in America. While Great Britain herself held more than ten millions of slaves; she, by some of her subjects, sent George Thompson to Boston, to lecture the people of Massachusetts on the subject of slavery. Massachusetts, since she threw off the yoke of British oppression, has not held a slave. For Britain, while holding millions of slaves in her Asiatic and African possessions, to send one of her subjects professedly to instruct Massachusetts on the subject of slavery, is a perfect burlesque. The citizens of that State, in their free political capacity, never held a slave. Such a step taken by Great Britain, ought to excite the laughter, or more than the suspicion, of every true-hearted American. But this same tyrannic nation says nothing effectively to her slave-holding and slave-importing allies and neighbors in Europe and Asia. These, her actions, prove conclusively, that it is not hatred to slavery, but opposition to free-

dom, which induces her to send her agents to the free States of the North, to *talk* on the subject of slavery at the South. She has once and again attempted by force, on their own soil, to enslave the sons of freedom. In this she totally failed. But what she despairs of accomplishing by force, she is now and has long been attempting by strategem. By means of her emissaries in this assylum of the oppressed, in this home of the free, she is endeavoring to divide our Union. She wishes to set the North and South so at variance, that when she attacks one part of our country, the other will not step forth to the rescue. To accomplish this object, she pulls the political wires. Her leading Abolition puppets then dance to the tune of gold and silver. Thus, while she professes to have very great regard for freedom, she is using a powerful but under-handed influence to overthrow the fundamental principles of civil liberty in this home of the exile. That the grand aim of Britain is, not to free the slave, but to enslave the free, is also manifest from the fact that when she sends her armies to China, her object is, not to give freedom to that semi-barbarous people, but to compel them to buy and chew her opium. Moreover, intelligent Americans have already learned what real regard Great Britain has for this, our beloved country. They know how highly she esteems true liberty, that most precious boon which the King of the Universe has conferred upon our land. But if any have yet to learn how much Britain loves liberty; let them ask the patriot-soldier of former days. Let them ask that hero who, at Princeton, bared his bosom to the shafts of death. There, from his unshod feet, the blood freely flowed. There it stained the frozen earth, and dyed with crimson hue the winter snow, while he faced the bleak Northern blast. He knows how much the British love liberty, and he can tell. He stood forth in the darkest hour of free America's history to repel the foreign foe* whom British gold had tempted to pollute, with his unhallowed touch, the pure soil of freedom. If any have yet to ascertain how much Britain desires to promote true liberty; let them ask him whose blood stood

*The Hessians.

in pools at Monmouth, where Major Molly* fought during the same day of doubtful contest. He can tell ; for he knows by experience. Or they may ask that brave man who followed the victorious banner of the "Blind eyed Tailor,"† on the plains of Stillwater. He too has learned by experience how much that proud, despotic, intriguing nation desires to promote the freedom of the human race. Or they might enquire of the son of that Green Mountain Boy‡ who fought and bled and died at Bennington, rather than permit Great Britain to rivet the chains of slavery upon his own heel, and upon that of unborn millions. There the mighty Stark, with undaunted spirit, led forth the body-guard of freedom. Before the British myrmidons commenced their work of death, he dared to say ; "there are the enemy, and here are we, and if we don't beat them Molly Stark sleeps a widow to-night."§ He, at Bennington, with the sons of liberty, resisted and conquered the tools of despotic power. If any have the least desire to know more of Great Britain's love of liberty, let them inquire of him who formed a portion of the eleven hundred New York and Vermont militia, who, with a few regulars, put to flight, at Plattsburgh, fourteen

*The battle at Monmouth in New Jersey, was fought on a very warm day in summer. A Mr. Pitcher was in this action. He assisted to man one of the cannons. His wife was on the ground. She came to supply with water the company of which her husband formed a part. The patriot-soldier who exerted his every nerve amid the sweat and dust and heat and "confused noise" and blood of this battle-field, needed water to quench his thirst. This engagement was fierce and bloody. Soon after it commenced, Mr. Pitcher was killed. When this brave man fell, the commander of the gun exclaimed; "What shall I do! I have not a man to take his place!!" Mr. Pitcher's wife, whose name was Molly, heard this exclamation. She instantly set down her water-pail. With it she laid aside for a time her female timidity. She stepped forward to the spot where death arrayed in blood had just left her children fatherless, and supplied her husband's place during the remainder of the action. The soldiers of liberty, with such an example before them, fought with desperation. The British hired assassins gave way. Victory was inscribed on the banner of freedom. As the shout of triumph passed along the American line, it was mingled with that of unending glory to "Major Molly." Those who fought for liberty or death, had, on the field of carnage and to them of undying honor, given to Mrs. Pitcher the title of "Major Molly." This she retained till her death. When General Washington heard the facts in the case, he gave her, it is said, a Lieutenant's commission. Congress also, it is asserted gave her a pension for life. But the soldiers still persisted in calling her "Major Molly." In this they were right. She richly deserved this title.

†General Gates who commanded the American forces at Stillwater was blind of an eye. He was a tailor by trade. Lord John Burgoyne who commanded the British troops at the same engagement, gave him this title before the battle commenced.

‡The name, "Green Mountain Boys," is and has long been given to the Revolutionary soldiers who resided on and near these mountains. They were always among the bravest of the brave; among the mightiest of nature's noblemen.

§General Stark whose wife's name was Molly, commanded the Green Mountain Boys at the battle of Bennington.

thousand of the best British troops.* They might also gain some knowledge on this subject from him who, on Lake Champlain, saw the British flag lowered to a boy-commanded gun-boat.† There Britain with all her power was striving to enslave the free. Something too, on this important point, might be learned from him who saw the cool, undaunted Perry, amid a shower of British iron balls, deliberately use his coat to plug up the hole made in his boat by British cannon-shot.‡ These all can tell, for they have all learned how much the British love liberty. For that nation, or for those who still adhere to her interests, to pretend to love freedom, is the most egregious trifling. Those who have once and again attempted to rivet the fetters of bondage on the free white man of America, ought to be "laughed—to scorn," when they, without correcting one of their national sins, pretend to be very anxious to unshackle the Southern slave. Those who use all their power to make slaves, cannot be in favor of emancipation. Great Britain, with all her professions of love for freedom, sends none of her agents to deliver from bondage any of the millions of slaves held on the Eastern continent. The nations that hold multitudes of these slaves, are her neighbors and allies. If she desired universal emancipation, she might find something to do in freeing the slaves held in Europe, Asia and Africa. She might even find some work of this kind in the West Indies and in South America. But she passes by all these portions of the earth, and fixes the eye of her pretended philanthropy upon the United States. For a part of our population, she professes great regard. But while carrying out these her professions of friendship, the wolf's ears become too manifest to escape notice. Her attempts to dissolve the Union by her Abolition agents, are quite too evident to deceive many true-hearted Americans. Her

*Most of these had been engaged in the European wars. It is said that most of them were among the conquerers of Boneparte. †In the naval engagement on Lake Champlain, one of the British vessels was compelled to strike her colors to an American Gun-Boat. This Boat was commanded by a midshipman about sixteen or seventeen years of age. ‡In the battle on Lake Erie, Perry commanded the American squadron. His flag ship was disabled during the action. He left her in an open boat for another vessel. While passing to the other ship, a cannon-shot from the enemy struck the boat. It was, consequently, in danger of sinking. But Perry was at no loss even in this extremity. He used his coat, for want of better material, to plug up the hole thus made in his frail bark.

whole course of policy proves that she does not desire the extension of true civil or religious liberty. Her conduct, for centuries, proves that she would enslave the world if she had the power. No breeze from the British Isles carries one accent of freedom to her own Asiatic and African slaves. The sound of "liberty to the captive," mingles not with the heart-sickening notes of their clanking chains. But a heartless, hopeless, never-ending bondage is theirs. Indeed, her own starving population, with all their cries of agonizing distress, cannot draw forth from that hard-hearted, blood-thirsty nation, so much as one kind look, one compassionate smile, one sympathetic word. But, with the scorpion whip of oppression in her hand, its stings all stiff with human gore ; she pretends to be compassionate ; she pretends to love liberty ; she, with her Abolition lecturers in America, professes to desire the emancipation of Southern slaves ! ! It is perfectly certain therefore, from the conduct of Great Britain, that she has no wish to free the slave. It is also equally certain, from the same evidence, that she would, if she could, enslave the free. That numbers of the leading Abolitionists in America, are under British influence, is proved by the general tenor of their conduct ; by their opposition to our government ; by their attempts to dissolve the Union, and from the fact that they unite in these courses of wickedness with publicly acknowledged British emissaries, such as George Thompson and others. Men seldom or never sell themselves for nothing to promote the ambitious designs of the foreign, hereditary foe of their country. Every argument therefore which proves that political Abolitionists are forwarding the designs of Great Britain or of any other Eastern power, against the United States, proves that foreign gold is the main-spring of their movements. The conduct of many leading Abolitionists, shows conclusively that British gold has no small share in urging forward their movements. Others among them may be influenced by the purse or by the spiritual despotism of Rome. It is even possible that some of their leaders may labor among them merely for the spoils of political office. But the main-spring which puts in motion the whole machinery of political Abolition, is evidently foreign gold.

What are called "Peace Societies," are also infidel in their spirit and anti-patriotic in their aims. They hold up the idea that, under any circumstances, war is anti-christian. In this their fundamental principle, they are opposed to Divine revelation. God, in His word, frequently requires His people to engage in war.* Those Societies therefore that reject all defensive war as sinful, reject what God requires. They must, for that very reason, be infidel in their spirit. In their aims, they are anti-patriotic. Every man who joins one of them takes away part of the support which his country may need in the hour of danger. He promises every foe, non-resistance. He thus encourages, by the hope of an easy, bloodless victory, all the unprincipled enemies of his country, of man, of liberty, to pursue their deeds of blood. He thus invites them to strike their surest, hardest, most fatal blow. Every member of such an association thus strengthens the hands of any foreign assassins who may invade our shores. Such societies, also, by withholding that defense which might repel the aggressions of an enemy, weaken the defense of our land. That is not christian faith, but infidel presumption, which leads men when attacked as a nation, to leave unused the means for self-defense that God has appointed, and the use of which he has sanctioned. These self-styled "Peace Societies" in our land, are formed under British influence. In England, or in any of its dependencies, they are not encouraged. They all have a tendency to make our land an easy prey to any foreign foe. It is not love for America, or for peace, which prompts men to form such societies. They do not advance the interests of our country. They do not promote peace. They do not diminish the prospects of war. These Societies actually increase the danger of warlike attacks from belligerant nations. They do this by diminishing the power which ought to resist any foreign invader. They weaken the body politic in which they are formed. Moreover, it ought to be remembered, that while peace is valuable, justice is more so. *That* peace, and *that only*, which is

*See Ex. 17: 8–13, Deut. 20: 1–4, 10–13, 16, 17, Josh. 8: 1–29, and 10: 8–11, and 11: 6–9, 1 Sam. 15: 1–5, Ps. 18: 34, and 144: 1, Prov. 20: 18, &c.

consistent with justice, ought to be desired or sought, or accepted by any nation. The proper way to obtain such a peace as this, is always to do justice to others and to ourselves. To secure this last, we must require justice *from* others, and be prepared to enforce the demand.—Without this, no proper, permanent peace can exist. Without it, the name of peace is but mere delusion. It is nothing but ashes on a volcano. To be at peace with injustice, is to be at war with what is "holy, just and good." That peace therefore which may be offered to us in exchange for justice, ought to be spurned by every honest man, by every friend of his country, by every true christian. While Great Britain carries on the most unprincipled wars wherever the love of power may hope for success; she greatly desires that "Peace Societies" may be formed in the United States. But the patriotic eye of Americans can see through the thin veil of British intrigue. By whomsoever her plans may be carried on, her duplicity cannot escape detection. "*From*" all "*such*" cloaked enemies of our country, every true patriotic American is prepared to "*turn away*," with a mingled emotion of disgust, contempt and pity.

7. *The principal leaders among political Abolitionists are immoral.* Facts abundantly prove this position. *They slander slave-holders.* Every man who has spent any length of time at the South, knows this to be a fact. Indeed, any person who will reflect but a moment on the subject, must be convinced that many assertions made concerning slave-holders by political Abolitionists, are mere slanderous falsehoods. They often assert that slaves at the South are not properly fed or clothed, or attended when sick. They also frequently affirm that the slaves are over-worked, abused, maimed, &c., by the master or by his overseer. Now, by a little reflection, any one can see that, if the master had no more compassion or fellow-feeling for his slave than a man has for his horse, all such statements must be false. If persons view a slave as mere animal property, they would of course then treat him as they would a horse. But men in general do not half-starve, over-work, abuse and maim their horses. Instead of this, they usually feed them well, take good care of them, are

careful not to over-work them, endeavor to cure them when sick, &c. If a horse will command, in market, from five hundred to a thousand dollars, the owner is sure to take special care of him. This is about the usual price of a good slave. If therefore the master had no more regard for his slave than for his horse, he would feed him well, clothe him comfortably, not over-work him, and would take pains to cure him when diseased. He would not then designedly maim his slave any more than a man would his horse. Nor would he suffer others to do his slave a personal injury if he could prevent them. The assertions then of this kind which political Abolitionists often make concerning slave-holders in general, are manifestly nothing but slanderous falsehoods. Some among political Abolitionists, advocate *lying*, *perjury*, *stealing*, *servile rebellion*, and even *murder*. They frequently assert that jurors, judges, and other officers who have sworn to execute the laws of the land, ought to, or at least may, in the case of fugitive slaves, violate their oath of office. Thus they encourage direct perjury. They themselves, when elected to any office, do not hesitate to take the official oath. They will take this oath, when they know that it requires them to do what they themselves professedly oppose. They thus swear to do what they declare they will not do. All this is manifest from their own repeated declarations. In their ordinary business transactions with men, their dishonesty is easily detected. Those of us who have had any dealings with many leading political Abolitionists, know full well, in our own experience, that they can lie, deceive and practice fraud. Moreover, one of their leaders,* with a party of men, actually *committed murder*. A mob threatened to destroy this leader's printing press. He and a number of others, went armed to defend his property from the threatened attack. The unprincipled mob, with deadly weapons, determined to destroy this property. He and his party, with the same kind of weapons, entered the building where this press was. The mob advanced with desperate temerity. This leader and his party fired on the mob and killed one of them. One of the mob fired on his party and killed

*Mr. Lovejoy, in Alton, Illinois.

him. Thus, both these parties, were guilty of committing murder. This mob, with every individual connected with it, was engaged in a wicked, lawless act, in attempting to destroy the printing press of this Abolitionist. But their crime did not deserve the punishment of death. Besides, if death had been the proper punishment for the crime of destroying, or of threatening to destroy, a printing press, this Abolitionist was not the person legally appointed to inflict the punishment. He, therefore, and his party, as well as the mob who killed him, were murderers. More than a majority of the principal persons among political Abolitionists, have made themselves accomplices in the murder committed by this leader and his party. They have publicly justified this crime. They have even represented the principal in this murder as being a martyr in the cause of liberty. Those who like many political Abolition leaders, are guilty of *lying*, *slandering*, *perjury*, *fraud*, and of advocating and justifying *servile rebellion* and *murder*, are certainly *very immoral characters*. Those who are openly guilty of such crimes cannot really desire to promote the true happiness of their fellow-creatures. Those who will slander and abuse, and defraud and murder free white men at the North, can have no sincere wish to promote the true interest of the colored slave at the South. Those who are dishonest in one thing, are not to be trusted in another. This is, or ought to be, a fundamental principle in morals. Those therefore, who are sincerely opposed to slavery, ought to avoid forming any connection with political Abolitionists. Those among them, if any there be, who do not mean to sustain their system of wickedness, ought at once to shake off all connection with "*such*" a party. "*From*" this party, and "*from*" any other whose leaders are thus grossly immoral, every upright man ought to "*turn away*," as he would from a serpent whose sting is fatal poison; whose bite is certain death.

8. *The principal leaders among political Abolitionists, are not opposed to slavery.* Their habitual course of conduct clearly proves this position. New School Presbyterians, or those in communion with them, are their principal leaders. The New School, or Pelagian General As-

sembly, at its first meeting after the division of the original Assembly of the Presbyterian church, had the power of putting an end to slavery within its own ecclesiastical bounds. This power it did not use for that purpose. Instead of using its ecclesiastical power to terminate slavery within its own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the New School or Pelagian Assembly actually laid down this its power, and resolved itself into a mere advisory body. As the highest judicatory of the New School church, this body had the power to say that no slave-holder should be either a minister or member within its bounds. The leading persons in the New School church and those in communion with them, had been, for years, calling slave-holders, thieves, robbers, murderers, &c. They might have kept out of their church those whom they charge with such crimes. But they did not. While they were saying all manner of evil against slavery; they actually received it into their church. They rolled it as a sweet morsel "under their tongue." In language, they call the slave-holder a demon incarnate; in actions, they embrace him as a Pelagian brother. In words, they call him a devil; in actions, they give him the standing of a saint. When, by the highest judicatory of their church, they had publicly embraced the slave-holder as a "brother beloved," as a minister of the everlasting gospel; men might then have supposed that they would have ceased to call him a thief, a robber, and a murderer. But after receiving him as a member of their church, as an ambassador for Christ, and while they actually remain either directly or indirectly in communion with him; they are so openly unprincipled and inconsistent as to call slavery a sin, a great sin, the crying sin of our land, the master sin of the world. While pressing the slave-holder with their ecclesiastical arms to their bosom as a dear christian brother, they still call him a thief, a robber, a murderer. They had, and might still have, the power to put an end to slavery within their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They did not do so. They have not yet resumed, and they do not now resume that power, by the exercise of which they might terminate this evil within the limits of their own church. If men do not, and will not discontinue slavery

when and where they can ; it is perfectly certain that their professed opposition to it is mere hypocrisy. That the New School Presbyterians thus act, is a publicly known fact. All who hold communion with them, encourage them in this course of conduct. They might have ended slavery in their own church ; but they did not. They may now take up that ecclesiastical power which they laid down. By the exercise of this, they may now exclude slavery from their own brotherhood. But this they will not do. They live on in communion with slaveholders. Most of the political Abolition leaders are united, either directly or indirectly, in religious fellowship with the New School church. This body did not, and does not terminate slavery when and where it might and can. No honest opposer of slavery can remain in connection with a church which receives and retains slavery within its bounds. The New School or Pelagian General Assembly, by doing so, practically declare that slavery is no sin. They receive and retain in their church, as members, *as ministers*, those who are publicly known to be slave-holders. No moral person who is willing to hold christian and ecclesiastical communion with such a body of men, can honestly believe that slavery is a gross immorality. Those who sit down at the communion table with openly immoral characters, by that act, publicly declare them to be moral men. They do more than this. They thus pronounce them to be true christians. Such immoral characters are in this way, encouraged in their wickedness. Those who call slave-holders thieves, robbers, murderers, debauchees, &c., and then commune at the sacramental table with them, are guilty of encouraging them in these crimes. They are therefore accomplices (as they thus practically declare,) in all the guilt which they charge upon slave-holders. This is certain, if their assertions in relation to their slave-holding members and ministers, are true. If they are not true, then those who make or repeat them with approbation, are guilty of foul falsehood and slander. But it is absolutely certain that those who are, either directly or indirectly, connected with the New School Presbyterian church, (as is the case with most of the political Abolition leaders,)

are not opposed to slavery. They did not and would not and do not put an end to it within their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Those who are really opposed to slavery will terminate the evil when and where they can. Most of the leaders among political Abolitionists will not do this. They cannot then be, in reality, opposed to slavery. Moreover, they often fiercely oppose colonization movements. If a colored person wishes to go to Africa, no one ought to attempt to prevent him. It ought also to be remembered that there is no benevolence in furnishing him the means of settling in that quarter of the world. If a white man wishes to remove to any part of the globe ; his own industry must furnish him with the means. If the colored man desires to settle in Africa ; his own labor, not the earnings of others, ought to furnish him the means of doing so. Some men will free their slaves on condition that they will settle in Africa. The real opposer of slavery would rather see a colored person free in Africa than a slave in America. Those who would not, cannot be, in fact, opposed to slavery. This is the case with many political Abolitionists. They cannot therefore be truly opposed to this evil. All these facts show that most political Abolitionists are not opposed to slavery. Their actions, in a voice of thunder, declare this. When their tongues speak the contrary ; reflecting men who understand their system, cannot believe their assertions. Their actions on this subject, regularly contradict most of their declarations. "*From*" those therefore, who practice "*such*" duplicity, all the real honest opposers of slavery ought to "*turn away.*"

9. *Most of the leaders among political Abolitionists are in favor of slavery.* The very spirit of their system is that of slavery. They frequently and openly declare that they intend, by the force of public opinion, to compel slave-holders to free their slaves. They do nothing which either directly or indirectly, has any tendency to free a single slave. They often assert that they would be glad to see the slave-holder occupying the place of the slave. Those who would be pleased to see the free white man enslaved, are certainly in favor of slavery. Those who do nothing that can possibly free a slave, may be in

favor of this evil. Those who publicly advocate the plan of forcing men to act according to their schemes, are certainly in favor of the spirit of slavery. These three points therefore taken together, prove most conclusively, that many of the leading Abolitionists are in favor of slavery. They endeavor to *compel* men to act according to their system. Such compulsion is the very spirit of slavery. To compel men to act by the force of public opinion, or by the lash of a cruel task-master, is alike the spirit of slavery. Those who use the one force or the other, to compel men to act, practically sustain this evil. Free men are governed by good laws or by reason upon which such laws are founded. They suffer no other power to influence their actions. To compel men to act by any other force is to practice a slave-holding spirit. This is the spirit by which political Abolitionists are actuated. Their leaders repeatedly declare that they intend to force slave holders, by the influence of public opinion, to free their slaves. They thus openly announce themselves to be the advocates of the very spirit and soul of slavery. But such men are very short-sighted in making such an attempt. Do they really suppose that they can accomplish such a base design? Do they really imagine that the South is to be forced by public opinion, or by any other improper influence? To harbor such a conjecture, they must have taken a wonderful flight on imagination's trembling wing. Political Abolitionists may be afraid where there is no danger. But Southern men are not. They have too often stood before the cannon's mouth, for any intelligent person to believe that they are afraid of danger. They will cheerfully do what is right. But they must be satisfied that it is so. They, however, are not to be forced. Public opinion *cannot*, no improper influence *can*, force them to act. Their own Washington, no, America's Washington, the world's hero, showed to the nations of the earth that Southern men are not to be forced by public opinion. In the darkest hour of our nation's first conflict with her old, British, hereditary, Abolition foe, Washington, with his little band of patriots,* was

*The name of every Revolutionary soldier ought to be written in letters of gold and placed in the Capitol at Washington.

compelled to retreat from New York to New Jersey, and then to cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania. During this disastrous hour, the tide of public opinion rolled in with tremendous fury against our own Southern Washington. But it could not force him to lay down his sword. It could not compel him to give the enemy an opportunity to massacre his little patriotic band. Southern men are not to be forced by public opinion, or by British gold, or by a foreign sword, to do what they are not convinced is right. This is a delightful thought to every true American. If public opinion could force either Northern or Southern men; then all that any set of unprincipled demagogues would have to do in order to accomplish any object, however vile, would be to put public opinion in motion. But *men, real* MEN, both at the North and South, have a different rule by which to govern their conduct. Public opinion is not their master. They are as unwilling to be the slaves of this as of any other despot. Least of all, will honest and intelligent men be the slaves of that public opinion which is raised and directed and governed by political Abolitionists. To attempt to force men by public opinion, is to practice the spirit of slavery. Its very soul is force, is compulsion. Most of the leading political Abolitionists are professedly attempting to force men, by public opinion, to free their slaves. They are, therefore, according to their own professed principles, endeavoring to disseminate the very spirit of slavery. Their system is building up all the abominations of this dreadful evil. The movements of these hypocritical advocates of slavery, greatly increase the bondman's oppression. They diminish in an untold degree, his prospects of emancipation. By their unhallowed duplicity, his bondage has become almost hopeless. They disseminate, they advocate, they greatly increase the evils of this pernicious system. "*From*" those who thus advocate the soul, the spirit, the very essence of slavery, every honest man, every one of its real, honest opposers, ought to "*turn away.*"

10. *Slavery is an evil.* Slave-holders know this fact. No class of persons can be more certain of it than they. Many of them will acknowledge that slavery is an evil.

They can easily see that it is an exceedingly pernicious system. Not a few of them are aware that it is an evil to the master, an evil to his children, an evil to the slave, a political evil, a pecuniary evil, an intellectual evil, a moral evil, a religious evil. The wisest and best statesmen of the South, of theworld, have declared that slavery is a most pernicious gangrene adhering to the body politic. They have asserted, before the nations of the earth, that slavery is an evil. This system in our land is a relic of foreign oppression. Great Britain forced slavery upon the South. And now, while she carries the chains of slavery under her hypocritical cloak, watching for an opportunity to rivet them on the free white man's heel; she professes to mourn over the existence of this relic of her own despotic influence. The South has not yet wiped away the stain of slavery which British tyranny has stamped upon the fair face of its escutcheon. This sin originated in British oppression. When the States were colonies under the yoke of Great Britain; she then forced some of those at the South to receive her cargoes of slaves. With her therefore originated the sin of slavery in the United States. It is also a State sin, so far as any State sustains it by law. Moreover, it is the personal sin of each individual who sustains the system or spirit of slavery. Its withering curse rests on some of the States of our Union. Its spot pollutes not a few persons at the South. Its foulest, vilest stain adheres to political Abolitionists at the North. They are spreading the spirit, the very demon of slavery, over the free States of our Union. Slavery, however, in this country, is not a national sin. Congress was not, in the formation of our government, invested with power over the subject of slavery. When the District of Columbia was, by Maryland and Virginia, ceded to the nation, slavery existed in both its parts. Congress has not repealed those laws which, in this District, sanction slavery; because by doing so, they could not free one slave. We have seen that men *in* or *from* the free States, cannot abolish slavery in any portion of our country. But slave-holding States and Southern men can and will entirely wipe the foul blot of slavery from the fair banner of liberty. This

has and long will wave over the free sons of the South. They will free their slaves. They certainly will, notwithstanding all the hypocritical opposition which political Abolitionists have thrown in their way. They love liberty too well to allow this foul relic of despotism to leave an eternal stain upon their name. They will not allow it to entail an endless curse on their posterity. The love of liberty will not permit slavery to till forever the soil of freedom. The birth place of liberty, the land in which its infancy was cradled, its youth nurtured and its manhood strengthened, cannot be the unending supporter of slavery. The South can and will terminate this evil. It ought to be said, and it will soon be said, that slaves cannot breathe at the South. When a human being touches the land which gave Washington birth, his shackles, wherever forged and by whomsoever riveted, ought to fall from his heel. Whoever breathes the atmosphere of a Southern man, ought to breathe the air of freedom. The South can and will free her own slaves. But to do this she will not be forced by public opinion. The love of freedom will induce her to perform this glorious work. Before the influence of *this* principle, the Southern man bows with reverence. But he is not the slave of public opinion. Those who fancy him to be such know little or nothing of his character. Those who imagine that persons at the South can be compelled to act by the force of public opinion, have yet to learn what influences govern real men. When political Abolitionists are advocating compulsion by that or by any other improper force; they are disseminating the very spirit of slavery. They are thus fostering the demon of oppression. They are forging new chains for the captive. They are adding to his heart-sickening oppression. They have already so increased the spirit of slavery that the colored man's bondage has become almost hopeless. They have greatly increased the sufferings of the slave. "*From*" them therefore every friend of liberty ought to "*turn away.*"

To show the proper manner of freeing the slaves at the South, is no part of the subject now under discussion. The difficulty of escaping from this evil may not be so great as Southern men usually suppose. What political

Abolitionists are, has been shown. The political Abolition Wolf has been detected. The duty of every honest person in relation to such men, has been definitely stated. It has been clearly proved. Nothing farther, therefore, in the subject before us, remains to be investigated. Having then, from Divine revelation, *learned*, let us *now do* our duty. In relation to them, and to all similar characters, we may easily know how to act. Our duty is before us. To avoid the hypocrite, the deceiver and the double-tongued, is the duty, as well as the interest of every honest man. "*From*" these seven-sided political Abolitionists therefore, and "*from*" all like them, let us "*turn away.*"

May the King of the Universe, by the regenerating power of His Spirit, bring hypocritical political Abolitionists to true repentance.

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